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Publications of the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii
Volume 1, Number 5

REPORT
of the
Historical Commission
of the
Territory of Hawaii

FOR THE TWO YEARS ENDING
DECEMBER 31, 1928



Printed by
Honolulu Star-Bulletin
Merchant Street
1929

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MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL COMMISSION

HON. GEORGE R. CARTER, President.

MRS. A. P. TAYLOR, Vice-President.

DR. K. C. LEEBRICK, Secretary-Treasurer.

R. S. KUYKENDALL, Executive Secretary.

The office of the Commission is at the
University of Hawaii,
Honolulu, T. H.

Lt. Col.
Major Thomas M. Gauding
2-18-1929

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**The Reign of Lunalilo and the
Election of Kalakaua.**

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Honolulu, Hawaii,
January 26, 1929.

To His Excellency Governor W. R. Farrington
and to the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii:

The Historical Commission presents herewith a report of its work during the two years ending December 31, 1928. In addition to the report proper, there are two documentary appendixes: one containing two letters of General William Miller, British Consul General for the Hawaiian Islands, giving his view of local conditions soon after his arrival in 1844; and one containing despatches of U. S. Minister Henry A. Peirce with special reference to relations between the United States and Hawaii during the reign of Lunalilo and the opening of the reign of Kalakaua.

We desire to call special attention to the recommendations made on pages 11 and 12.

Respectfully submitted,

THE HISTORICAL COMMISSION,

GEORGE R. CARTER, President,

MRS. A. P. TAYLOR, Vice-President,

K. C. LEEBRICK, Secretary-Treasurer.

R E P O R T
of the
HISTORICAL COMMISSION

For the Two Years Ending
December 31, 1928

Duties of the Commission

By Act 120, S. L. 1921, as amended by Act 130, S. L. 1923, it was made the duty of the Historical Commission to prepare and publish three historical works:

- (1) A school textbook of Hawaiian history;
- (2) A history of Hawaii's part in the World War;
- (3) A revised history of Hawaii for general reading and reference.

Immediately after the close of the legislative session of 1923, the Commission adopted a schedule calling for the publication of the three histories in the order named; and the work of the Commission has been carried on since then in accordance with this schedule.

School Textbook

The school textbook was published in October, 1926, by the Macmillan Company of New York, in pursuance of a contract previously made with that company by the Commission. In the last published report of the Historical Commission attention was called to the very favorable reception accorded this volume by reviewers both in Hawaii and on the mainland. Since then, the book has been reviewed, in all cases favorably, by a number of other periodicals,

among which may be mentioned the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (New Zealand), the *American Historical Review*, the *Political Science Quarterly* of the Academy of Political Science, the *Geographical Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society of England, and the *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* (Germany). In addition, the Commission has received comments from teachers and members of the school department which show that the book has in practice been found to be very well adapted to the purpose for which it was primarily intended.

The Territorial treasury has received from the Macmillan Company the sum of \$700.70 on account of royalties on sales of this book up to June 30, 1928. This amount is larger than the estimated revenue from this source.

War History

The history of Hawaii's part in the great war of 1914-1918 was completed during the period under review and was published, under the title *Hawaii in the World War*, in February, 1928. The preparation of this history involved many months of laborious search through newspaper files and other printed and manuscript sources of information, followed by several months devoted to the analysis and arrangement of the data and the actual writing of the text. As published the book contains over five hundred pages, including 49 pages of illustrations. In preparing the history, the Commission endeavored to compile a general account, within a reasonable compass, of the war activities of the Territory as a whole.

The book is not intended to be a record of individual service. The idea of printing a list of the names of all who did war work had to be abandoned—not without some regret—since it was seen that such a plan would, practically, amount to publishing a sort of annotated directory of the Territory, which would require a large volume by itself and would not, after all, be a history, but only a collection of data. Nor was it possible to print the names and records of the nearly 10,000 Hawaii men in military and naval service. This does not mean, however, that such a record is not to be preserved; on the contrary, service cards for these men are on file in three places, the archives of the War and Navy Departments in Washington, the office of the Adjutant General of the Territory, and the Archives of Hawaii; but the record is not yet complete and perfect, being still subject to correction from time to time. When finally complete it can be printed, if that is thought desirable.

The book was printed by the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, that company having submitted the lowest bid for the contract. The work was done in a first class manner, and the resulting volume is a splendid specimen of the printing art, adding one more to the large number of fine books printed in the Territory. As received from the printer the books were immediately turned over to the Secretary of the Territory, a Resolution of the Legislature having provided that they should be sold and distributed through his office. In accordance with authority granted by the same Resolution, the price of the book was fixed by the Commission at one dollar per copy, a price which covers only a fraction of the cost of production, being, however, the highest price allowed by the Resolution; and at this low price the local book-dealers claimed that there was no profit in their handling the book and therefore refused to do so. Thus, while the intention of the Legislature was beneficent, yet if we judge by the number of copies disposed of, the result was the reverse, as so few people even know that the book has been printed.

Hawaii in the World War has been very favorably received, and surprisingly little adverse comment has come to the attention of the Commission. Reference is here made to the reviews of the book published in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin of February 18, 1928, and in the Honolulu Advertiser of February 19. The book has also been favorably noticed outside the Territory.

General History of Hawaii

The Commission is now at work upon the preparation of the general history, which we consider the most important part of our duties, and to which, in an important sense, all the preceding work of the Commission has been preliminary. As indicated in earlier reports, the plans of the Commission call for the publication of a general narrative history of approximately one thousand pages, to be printed in two volumes, and to be sufficiently documented to insure authoritativeness. We have proceeded on the theory that a work of this character, which is intended to be as far as possible a definitive history of Hawaii and which will be an official publication, must be done carefully and deliberately, with a full study of all available and obtainable sources of information, the material adequately analyzed and the finished product organized in such a way as to present a moving picture of the development of Hawaii from primitive times to the present day.

While the preparation of the school textbook and the war history were in progress the Commission carried on a wide search for documentary material to supplement that already available in the Territory and to fill up gaps in the sources which have hitherto been used in writing histories of the Hawaiian Islands. This search has been extended to the archives of the United States government in Washington, to those of the British government in London, the French government in Paris, the Mexican government in Mexico City, and to collections of commercial and other private papers in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Harvard College Library, the California State Library, and similar institutions in other places. This has given us exact information and descriptions of a very large quantity of important material, and made it possible to have copied the documents which seemed most likely to be of direct use in the present undertaking.

The Commission made an agreement with Dr. Herbert E. Gregory whereby he is to write the portion of the general history corresponding to that which he wrote for the school textbook. Dr. Gregory has already made considerable progress in the preparation of the account of the ancient civilization of the Hawaiian people. The Executive Secretary of the Commission is devoting his time to the study of the modern period of Hawaiian history, being engaged in taking notes for use in the preparation of that portion of the work.

Documents Being Obtained

In earlier reports the Commission has listed several thousand pages of documents obtained from various sources. We are now having documents copied from the archives in Washington, London, and Paris. During the period under review we have received consignments of such material from all of these places, and are receiving additional ones from time to time. The material being copied in Washington is mainly from the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the diplomatic representative of the United States in Honolulu and the Hawaiian diplomatic representative in Washington. It is expected that by the end of the biennium now in progress, this copying in Washington will be completed. We shall then have, in connection with the notes made by Mr. Kuykendall in 1925, a fairly full record of this diplomatic correspondence. The material being copied in London and Paris is similar in general character to that in Washington. With all of this in hand, we shall be able to get the point of view of the governments of the United States, Great

Britain, and France, the three nations which had the greatest influence upon the history of the Hawaiian Islands.

The Historical Commission placed at the disposal of the Board of Archive Commissioners a list of original log books and journals of the voyages of Captain James Cook in the British Museum, which was obtained by the late Hon. A. L. C. Atkinson who carried on some research in England for the Historical Commission. This was done to aid the Archive Commissioners in building up the Captain Cook Collection in the Territorial Archives.

In connection with his vacation, which was spent in California, the Executive Secretary of the Commission carried on some additional research in libraries in that state. In the libraries of the University of California he checked a considerable number of U. S. Government publications and miscellaneous material relating to Hawaii which is not available in libraries in Honolulu; he also obtained photostat copies of about 50 pages from the *Historical Records of New South Wales*, volume I, containing the following documents: (a) Letter of Captain Clerke, June 8, 1779, giving a brief account of the death of Captain Cook; (b) Captain Cook's last journal, Nov. 28, 1778, to Jan. 17, 1779; (c) Extract from the original journal of David Samwell, surgeon of the *Discovery*, covering the period Feb. 4-22, 1779.

At the California State Library in Sacramento Mr. Kuykendall copied from the newspaper card index in the California Department a large quantity of references to the Hawaiian Islands. In the same department he made a careful examination of the William Heath Davis Collection of original manuscripts, making notes in reference to all Hawaiian material contained in that collection. This collection consists of business papers, letter books, and letters received by William Heath Davis, son of the William Heath Davis who resided in Hawaii during a considerable part of the first two decades of the last century and who figured largely in the history of that period. The younger William Heath Davis was born here and spent the greater part of his life in California, where he was a prominent and highly respected citizen. A large part of the "letters received" in the collection are letters written to him by his brother Robert G. Davis in Honolulu during the years 1836-1855. The greater part of these letters relate to personal, business, and family affairs, but scattered through them are a good many interesting side lights on local events and changing conditions. In one letter is given a lively account of the restoration of the government to Kamehameha III by

Admiral Thomas in 1843. On December 14, 1842, two months before the arrival of Lord George Paulet, Robert Davis writes to his brother,

"We are anticipating at present a visit from an English Squadron to take possession, although those who hold offices under Govt. flatter themselves that this will not take place—Dr. Judd is at the head of all the affairs of government. . . . There is almost always some commotion in Oahu. . . ."

In 1846 he writes of his desire to build a new house, and adds: "The time for straw houses in Oahu appears to have gone by." And in the early spring of 1848 he writes: "We have had an uncommonly rainy winter which has been very bad for mud houses and mud walls all through the town. Many of the adobie houses have tumbled down altogether. . . . This rainy winter has given people a lesson about adobie buildings."

The writer of these letters, Robert G. Davis, was appointed to the office of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court in 1864.

Marking Historic Sites

(a) Act 49, S.L. 1925

The Legislature of 1925 (by Act 49) appropriated the sum of \$2,500 for the purpose of preserving and marking certain designated historic places in the Territory. The Act provided that "said appropriations shall be expended by the superintendent of public works in accordance with plans approved by the historical commission, but any surplus remaining after attaining the objects herein set forth may be expended by said authority, subject to said approval, in preserving and marking other historic spots in the Territory."

In October, 1926, the Superintendent of Public Works requested the Historical Commission to present to him suggestions as to the design for the tablets to be used in marking the sites mentioned in the Act. The Commission complied with this request under date October 12, 1926. Subsequently, in February and July, 1927, the Commission again brought the matter to the attention of the Superintendent of Public Works, at the same time presenting additional suggestions for his consideration. On November 10, 1927, a preliminary sketch of a design was submitted by the Public Works Department. This sketch was not approved by the Historical Commission, but it furnished the basis for a design which was worked up by a process of trial

and error by a draftsman in the Department; the design finally approved by the Commission being submitted in the early part of February, 1928. The Commission held a public hearing on this design and returned it to the Superintendent of Public Works on February 16, with a suggestion that a model be prepared in Honolulu to serve as a basis for the bronze tablets. Mr. Bigelow stated that it was his intention to have such a model made by a local sculptor.

About July 18 Mr. Bigelow requested the Commission to inspect a rough model which had just been made by the sculptor. This model was based on a design radically different from the one approved by the Commission, and contained features which the Commission had previously declined to approve; but since part of it was acceptable it became the basis for a model which, after two or three trials, was approved by the Commission upon its completion in finished form on October 11, 1928. The Commission had previously submitted to Mr. Bigelow approved inscriptions to be placed on the several tablets. Up to the time this report is written the Historical Commission has heard nothing further in reference to the tablets and has received from the Superintendent of Public Works no communication in regard to plans for their installation.

(b) *Site of Old Royal Tomb*

The Commission has had under consideration the mound in the Capitol grounds marking the site of the old Royal Tomb. At the present time this mound is hidden behind an hibiscus hedge and without any sign or tablet to explain what it is. In view of the historical and sentimental importance of this site, we believe that it should be more carefully tended and that it should be marked with a suitable tablet. We therefore make the following recommendations:

1. That the hibiscus hedge surrounding the mound be removed;
2. That the mound be grassed over with a well tended lawn;
3. That a neat iron fence be built around the mound; and
4. That a tablet be erected with an appropriate inscription.

(c) *Fund for Marking Historic Sites*

The Commission recommends that a small sum (say \$2,000) be appropriated to continue the work of marking historic sites throughout the Territory; to be expended by the Superintendent of Public

Works in accordance with plans approved by the Historical Commission; the sites so marked to be designated by this Commission.

*Pitman Tablet Commemorative of
Captain James Cook*

On December 28, 1928, we received from the Captain Cook Sesquicentennial Commission the following resolution which had been adopted by that Commission:

WHEREAS, on August 17, 1928, during the Literary Exercises program of the Cook Sesquicentennial Commission, held at the Army & Navy Y. M. C. A., Mrs. Benjamin Franklin Pitman, and her son, Theodore Pitman, sculptor, formally presented to the Territory of Hawaii, through the Cook Sesquicentennial Commission, a bronze tablet, designed by Theodore Pitman, commemorative of Captain James Cook, R. N., on the face of which appears the legend "Capt. James Cook, R.N., forerunner of modern civilization in the Pacific--In Hawaii, 1778-1779"; and

WHEREAS, this bronze tablet not having previously been assigned for any historical location connected or associated with the visits of Captain Cook in the Hawaiian Islands; and

WHEREAS, it is proper that some appropriate location be decided upon where it may be placed permanently;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Cook Sesquicentennial Commission recommend that the Hawaiian Historical Commission, a commission authorized by an Act of the Legislature of Hawaii to mark historic spots, etc., be asked to study the matter of a site for the permanent placing of the Pitman tablet as the government organization appointed for such purposes, and the said tablet is hereby turned over to said Hawaiian Historical Commission for such disposal.

In view of this resolution, the Historical Commission has studied the question presented, having in mind the character of the tablet, its great merit as a work of art, and the circumstances surrounding its presentation to the Territory; and has adopted the following resolution:

"In relation to the Pitman tablet, the Historical Commission requests that the Governor have the tablet placed on the wall of the Executive Building, between the main entrance and the first window of the Throne Room; and we further suggest that it would be appropriate for the Territory to cause a similar tablet, commemorating Vancouver's visit, to be placed on the opposite side of the entrance. In this manner our Territory would render a gracious acknowledgment to two Englishmen who played such an important part in the early history of Hawaii."

APPENDIX A

Hawaii in 1844

[Introductory Note.—The two following documents are from the pen of General William Miller, giving his view of local conditions soon after his arrival to take up his duties as British Consul General for the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands. He was formally received by King Kamehameha III on February 10, 1844. General Miller had visited Hawaii once before, in 1831, at which time he came as a tourist, a passenger on the Prussian ship "*Princess Louise*." Coming in 1844 in an official capacity, he brought with him the draft of a treaty or Convention proposed by the British Government for the approval of the King of the Hawaiian Islands. The letters here printed are copied from the originals in the Public Record Office in London. The Earl of Aberdeen was the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Addington was Under Secretary.]

Wm. Miller to H. U. Addington, February 27, 1844
(F. O. 58/25)

Having just concluded my Dispatches, which I fear will be considered too lengthy, I sit down to make to you some remarks which could not well be introduced in them.

The improvements that have taken place at the Sandwich Islands greatly exceed my expectations although long previous to my arrival I had heard much of them. Honolulu when I was here thirteen years ago, was a Village of Wigwams; now it has the air of a rising City. Its Streets are well laid out, & although not paved, from the porous nature of the substratum, are dry & clean. Most of the Houses are still of dried grass & stand at some distance from each other. Amongst them are thirty or forty good dwellings built of Stone, or Adoves (sun burnt bricks) occupied by Foreigners & Native Chiefs. Along the sides of some of the Streets & around the principal houses there are rows of Trees planted with some taste & in some instances Flower-gardens very tolerably laid out.

The Protestant Missionaries have two large Meeting Houses for the Natives: one of these is of Stone & could hold a Congregation of from three to four thousand; the other is a grass house, also very capacious. There is besides a Chapel for Seamen with a very respectable Clergyman paid by a Society in the United States. The Foreign Residents who are not Catholics attend there morning & evening on Sundays. There is likewise a new Catholic Church which is the best building of all supported by Funds from abroad.

The religious & moral improvement of the Natives has been very great, & too much cannot be said in praise of the American Mission-

aries to whom it is to be attributed. Much pains is taken in the education of the young Chiefs. They are under the charge of the Revd. Mr. & Mrs. Cook with whom they board. I met seventeen of them the other evening at the Admirals & I was much pleased with the neatness of their dress & the propriety of their deportment. They all speak English fluently; two of them especially—Alexander the Heir apparent & Victoria his Sister who is to be his Premier, are very fine intelligent Children. Their features are good & their colour of the same shade as that of the Malays.

When I delivered my Letter of Credentials to the King at Lahaina I could not but admire the propriety and decency with which the Ceremony was conducted. His Majesty & six or seven of the Principal Chiefs, as well as the Premier & two other Lady Chiefs, who were present, from their manners & dresses would not have disgraced a Drawing Room in Europe.

My Address having been translated it was well understood by the King & his Attendants. When I delivered it & when the King made his Reply, both he & they were very sensibly moved. This was more particularly the case after the Convention was signed when I repeated to them how sincerely Queen Victoria desired their happiness, how pleased She was to hear of their progress, & how gratified I should be, from time to time, to report favourably upon it. Dr. Judd strongly participated in their emotion on that occasion.

There may be at Honolulu thirty married Couples amongst the Foreigners. All these are Americans excepting four families. They have all visited us & manifested the very best feeling. Some of the Ladies & Gentlemen are well-bred & informed. All of them are very respectable Persons. The greatest cordiality appears to exist among them, with the exception of one or two English Families & from what I can learn it is their own fault that they form that exception.

Last evening there was an Assemblage of all the respectable Foreign Residents, excepting the four Families referred to, at the House of Dr. Judd to give to all an opportunity of taking leave of Admiral Thomas. A very appropriate Address to him was read upon the occasion & listened to with great feeling both by the Gentlemen & Ladies present. This was but natural for his conduct here towards all classes has been admirable. In short, Admiral Thomas has acted while here with a sole eye to the honour & good of his Country & his Name will be long & favourably remembered both by Natives & Foreigners.

Nothing can tend more to depress British influence here, or discourage the Natives in their social progress than such Articles as that which appeared in the [London] Times of the 16 Nov. 1843. It is very unfair, illiberal and un-English.

I consider this Community a very interesting one, exhibiting as it does the progress of the people from the savage to the civilized state through the sole influences of Christianity & Commerce. It is, however, evident that the Aborigines are verging rapidly to extinction since for every birth there are two deaths according to undoubted Testimony.

These Islands are said to be capable of supporting a population of at least one million of Inhabitants. The Climate is certainly one of the best in the World. No where have I experienced so delightful & renovating a breeze. The Trade-wind blows through Vallies which intersect the Islands, & is cooled by the lofty summits of mountains which attract Clouds & cause frequent showers.

I have not yet been able to devote much time to the Statistics of the Islands, but I send in the Tin Case containing the Convention, some printed Papers with details of interest. With the exception of two English Houses the whole trade of the place is in the hands of Americans, though almost all the goods consumed are of British Manufacture. A few Chinese goods are imported, but their use is confined to the Foreign Families.

Every Article of clothing & luxuries for the Table, are exceedingly dear though the necessaries of life are cheap. I am considered fortunate in having obtained a House at the rent of seventy dollars a month.

While on the subject I may mention that my Voyage across the Atlantic with my Niece & one Servant cost me £165 & my Journey from Vera Cruz to San Blas about Seven hundred dollars, exclusive of stoppages & living.

As soon as I forward my Dispatch by the Schooner Hooikaika, alias Go-a-head, which is to sail tomorrow for San Blas, I will apply myself to the questions of Mr. Charlton's land & Mr. Greenway's Estate. Mr. Sea is so mixed up with these & other matters that I cannot well dispense with his presence here until they are settled.

When passing through Mexico I met Mr. Wyllie on his way to England. He was persuaded to accompany me to this place, & as you will see attests the Convention as my Secretary. It is but right to state that he acts gratuitously.

I fear that in my Notes & Letters to you I am too lengthy. If so please tell me.

P. S. Upon the subject of the Convention I have only to remark that I trust it will be approved of by The Earl of Aberdeen. If His Lordship should desire any modification, the Proclamation of the King of the 13th Instant does not preclude it, for after talking with Admiral Thomas I addressed, on the 21st Instant, a letter officially to Dr. Judd the effect of which is to provide for the future admission of any Stipulation in the Admiral's Treaty not contained in the Agreement of 12 Sept. 1843 or the Convention of 12 Feby 1844, that His Lordship may think desirable.

W. M.

Miller to the Earl of Aberdeen (No. 22), May 20, 1844.
(F. O. 58/25)

I have the honour to inclose herewith to Your Lordship the "Friend" of the 1st May, a Paper published monthly at this place, containing much accurate Statistical information relative to the Sandwich Islands.

Mr. Wyllie's Tables and Notes are particularly deserving attention, showing, as they do, in a condensed and clear manner, what the Commerce of these Islands has been during the last twenty years, and the number of Vessels, and names of all the Men of War, that have come and gone during that period, and the average time they performed their voyages in. The Summary which Mr. Wyllie gives of many of the existing Laws and Port Regulations, will be found very useful to Foreigners who come here, and his observations upon Whale Fishery, manifest the great and gradual increase of American, and great decrease of British Shipping employed in that important branch of Commerce. Indeed the valuable data given to the Public, leaves me little Statistical matter to add.

The great distance that the Sandwich Islands are situated from any great consuming Countries will, I am of opinion, prevent them, at all events for a long time to come, from exporting any considerable quantity of their own produce; and although labour is quite as cheap here as it is in any part of India, and the soil is rich and exceedingly well adapted for the cultivation of Sugar and Coffee, still, as yet in those Articles the Sandwich Islands cannot compete in Foreign Markets with India or Manilla.

When however the Oregon Territory and Upper California be more thickly populated than at present by an industrious and trading people, and persons of this description are flocking fast to those Coun-

tries, especially from the United States, they, in consequence of their nearer proximity to this than any other exporting Country, may afford a Market for Sugar and Coffee grown here. Furthermore should the Sandwich Islands' Government offer proper facilities and encouragement, instead of multiplying obstacles, as is now the case, to industrious Foreigners who are willing and know how to till the soil, great improvements would result to the Agricultural Interests of these Islands.

Under the present system, land can only be obtained from Government at from a quarter of a dollar to a dollar per acre per annum, on a Lease not exceeding Twenty-five years, at the expiration of which it reverts to Government, with all the buildings that may have been constructed upon it. Actually no land under any condition, whatever, can be obtained, the Government having determined not to dispose or even let the smallest portion until the result of Mr. Brinsmade's Mission to Europe regarding land be known. I am not without hopes, however, that the Rulers of these Islands will ere long open their eyes to their true Interests in this respect.

Your Lordship will perceive by the Missionary Statistics that the American Board for Missions have remitted in Supplies and Money no less than \$539,089, exclusive of \$69,774 furnished by the American Bible and Tract Societies; and, from all that I have observed and learned I feel satisfied that the money has been judiciously expended for the Religious and Moral advancement of the Natives.

Amongst the principal Causes of the decrease of the Aboriginal Population are the obstructions, and delays to Marriage. The Laws prohibit Relatives, even in many cases when there is no consanguinity to marry. To be allowed to marry, the couple must be nearly of the same age; they must know how to read; they must have been acquainted with each other some length of time; if the bride be under eighteen years of age, she has to obtain the consent of her parents, and if the bridegroom be under twenty, he has to do the same; and moreover they must obtain permission of the Governor or his Agent, who, when he does not make other more serious or capricious objections, generally recommends a delay of two or three months, that both parties may become better acquainted with each other, and at the end of that period a farther delay is often required. . . .

The obstacles to Foreigners marrying Native Girls are still greater; they must account satisfactorily to the Authorities how they came into the Country, and have resided in it two years, and take the Oath of Allegiance,—and this is the more to be regretted, since those

Foreigners who do marry and take care of their Wives have; almost in every instance, large families.

Upon this subject I have held some conversations with the Revd. Mr. Armstrong, the leading Missionary here, as well as with other influential Persons deeply interested in the welfare of the Sandwich Islands, and I have reason to hope the evils alluded to will be modified, or done away with altogether ere long.

But in spite of everything I feel persuaded that the Aboriginal Population will, in a few years, become extinct, and that the children, already very numerous, of the American Missionaries, and other Americans who are flocking here, will become the principal proprietors of the land.

APPENDIX B

The Reign of Lunalilo and the Election of Kalakaua

[Introductory Note.—The documents here presented are official despatches of Mr. Henry A. Peirce, Minister Resident of the United States in Hawaii, addressed to the Secretary of State of the United States. They are selected not for the purpose of giving a connected account of the reign of Lunalilo, but rather to illustrate the relations between the United States and Hawaii during that reign, with special reference to the project of a reciprocity treaty. The despatches are copied from the originals in the archives of the Department of State in Washington. The despatches here printed supplement Mr. Peirce's despatches Nos. 174, 177, 180, 182, 183, 184, 195, and 197, which are printed (in part) in *Foreign Relations of the United States* for 1873, and his despatches Nos. 189, 190, 191, 241, 243, and 245, which are printed in *Senate Executive Document No. 77* of the 52nd Congress, 2nd Session.]

1. *Henry A. Peirce to Hamilton Fish (No. 185), January 17, 1873.*
(Hawaii, Despatches, Vol. XV)

* * * * *

My despatches of previous dates, forwarded by this mail, will inform you, that political affairs have settled into a calmness, like that of a summer sea. The Crisis expected to arise by reason of a vacant throne and a disputed succession; an event long anticipated & dreaded; has passed without causing any disturbance;

The people never more orderly and well disposed, than at this time. This fortunate & happy result to affairs is perhaps attributable to republican sentiments common among the people; instilled by persons from New England living in this country; and to the fact that no opposition was shown, to the election of the peoples candidate for succession to the throne. Had it been otherwise, the consequences would have been dreadful to the nation. I should also add that every influence was privately used by myself & other foreign officials, to prevent party leaders from resorting to violent action during the political canvass.

It gives me much pleasure to state that in my belief & that of my countrymen here, our government & people have good reason to rejoice at the Accession of Lunalilo to the Hawaiian throne; feeling assured the event will secure & greatly promote American influence & their interests here, over the political & commercial relations of the Kingdom.

An opinion generally prevails however, that the present Sovereign is the last who will ascend to the Throne; and that a Republican Government will eventually replace the Monarchy. . . .

2. *Peirce to Fish (No. 186), January 21, 1873.*
(Hawaii, Despatches, Vol. XV)

* * * * *

King Lunalilo appears to be the most popular Sovereign that has reigned here for 20 years past.

I regret to say however, that he is in danger of dying ere long . . .

In that event, there is every probability that a Republic will succeed the present government; or if the U S Government desire to annex these islands to the territory of the Union; the measure can then be accomplished if proper instructions are given to the Minister Resident here in season to shape the desired purpose.

The Mass of natives were not ripe for the project of annexation to our country, when the late King died — Inasmuch as Lunalilo, was too popular & too high a chief to have his claims disregarded by them, as Successor to the Throne; and the subject of annexation had never previously been much discussed among *them*.

Late events however, have advanced American interests here very considerably.

3. *Peirce to Fish (No. 192), February 28, 1873.*
(Hawaii, Despatches, Vol. XV)

Enclosed herewith is copy of a note, of date Feby 26th inst, received from Mr. Bishop, Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the subject of a Reciprocity Treaty with the U S. — ; and intimating a desire on the part of his government to negotiate such, if agreeable to the views of the U S government to initiate measures for that end. Copy of my reply to said note, is also herewith enclosed.

Although Mr Bishop verbally informs me that he is not authorised to offer to the U States any new inducements to form a treaty like that named, other than what was proposed in 1866; Yet from the best information I can obtain, I confidently believe; that if the U S Government will agree to open negotiations afresh; the Hawaiian Government will then be prepared to propose to the former, revival or renewal of the Treaty of 1866; which was negotiated by Genl McCook my predecessor, & Mr C C Harris on the part of this government; and which the U S Senate in 1870 refused to ratify. But with an amendment to be inserted therein admitting into the U States free of duty all Hawaiian Sugars up to No 15 Dutch standard; instead of those Sugars up to No 12 only, as limited by the terms of

said Treaty. And The Hawaiian Government, consenting as a remuneration therefor, to cede to the U S States, the proprietary title & sovereignty, to ten miles square of its territory, with the harbour of Pearl River; situate 10 or 12 miles N W of Honolulu; a place highly valuable & adapted for a Naval Depot for the U States.

It is rumoured, I think with truth; that Mr Davies Actg British Commissr, & Capt Cator of H B M Ship Scout have protested against the Hawaiian Govt ceding any of its territory to the U S — present or prospectively.

There are Americans of sufficient numbers in the Hawaiian Govt offices to treat such unwarranted interference (as that indicated above) with the scorn it deserves.

I am gravely impressed with the necessity of the U S Government doing something to benefit the general interests of this country —

Whether that measure shall be, to attempt the Annexation of the Islands, or a Reciprocity Treaty on the basis of the terms named, with an Alliance offensive & defensive; or for a Protectorate government; is for the U States to consider and decide. Or otherwise, we must be content to see the greater portion of the trade with these islands slip gradually into the possession of the British Colonies in this part of the world. And the Islands themselves, sooner or later perhaps, fall into the power of an European nation, one day or other in hostilities with the U States; and requiring the latter in view of protecting its commerce on this ocean, to get possession of this Archipelago — at whatever cost of blood & treasure. A probable calamity like that should be prevented in season.

A thousand American ships now pass near these Islands every year — What may be their number half a century hence?

The present duty on Hawaiian Sugar, is, U States $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ cts per lb. British Columbia & New Zealand 2 cents Australia $\frac{3}{4}$ to one cent. These low duties, with the establishment of a contemplated line of *British* Steamers to run between Australia & San Fro via Honolulu. With another line, to run between China, Japan, Honolulu & Panama; are likely to give the British interests in the trade and navigation of this ocean; superiority over those of the U S.; unless we take measures soon to prevent it.

The boon to Hawaii of exporting its 8000 tons of raw Sugar to the U S free of duty; (or even if it rises to three times that quantity) will be compensated to the U States, by full equivalent in other ways. San Francisco imported the past year 40,000 tons of

Sugar; of which only 5000 tons was Hawaiian & paying to the U S about half its cost value in duties.

While the exchange of products between the U States & Hawaii, is nearly equal as to value, the aggregate amount of customs duties derived therefrom, is as four or five in the former, to one in the latter.

The Hawaiian Government therefore, seeks equality in its commerce with the U S. through a Reciprocity Treaty — Failing to obtain the latter, they must resort, in self protection, to an increase in their custom duties, commensurate to those of the U States levied on Hawaiian products — How to accomplish the same, without destroying more or less of the commerce between the two countries & impoverishing their people, is a problem very difficult to solve.

In view then of all the circumstances, existing & prospective, pertaining to the political and commercial relations of the two countries; it will be eminently wise & proper, in my judgment for the U States to establish with this country a treaty of Reciprocity on the terms & conditions, herein previously mentioned.

The cession of the U States of the harbour of Pearl River &c, will undoubtedly lead, sooner or later to the cession of the entire Archipelago; and provision may be made perhaps in said Treaty, that the latter event shall occur on decease of the reigning sovereign; Thereby making the U States his successors to the sovereignty of the country. The Kings consent to that, will no doubt be satisfactory to his people. From education, habit & inclination the latter are ever ready to follow the lead & to comply with the wishes of their chiefs. Hence, if the U S government should prefer at this time to bring about Annexation of the Islands, in preference to the other measure mentioned; consent of the King & chiefs to the Cession, must be first obtained.

Success in that matter is at present doubtful. In time it may be secured, by promise of large annual pensions to each, & all the "Aliis" or high chiefs.

The U S Government, in giving due consideration to the subject, for inaugurating new & more intimate relations with this country, should allow influence to the fact; that of the 5 to 6000 foreigners here, two thirds at least are American citizens or of American parentage; and having about three millions dollars invested in the Agriculture, commerce and navigation of the Archipelago.

The advantages in a military & political point of view, which a naval station at Pearl River will give to the U States, are obvious.

The general subject is being discussed by the community here in conversation, & through the public press. I enclose herewith several articles extracted from the latter; on the subjects of "Annexation" "Independence" and "Reciprocity"—pro and con.

4. *Peirce to Fish (No. 203), April 28, 1873.*
(Hawaii, Despatches, Vol. XV)

. . . The discussions recently rife in this community, in regard to "Annexation" & "Reciprocity", of Hawaii with the U States, seem to have terminated for the present.

The Hawaiian Officials, as well as the public generally, are anxiously expecting to learn soon, the result of the overture made by Minister Bishop, through this Legation to the U S Government, for renewing negociations for a Reciprocity Treaty; as presented to you in my despatch No 192. The hope seems to be felt in government circles, that a Treaty of the kind named, based on a cession to the U States of the harbour & territory of the Bay of Pearl River, may be agreed upon in season to be laid before the U S Senate at its meeting in December next; in which event, the King prompted by his desire to visit the U S; and perhaps urged by his intimate friends to avail himself of that occasion to do so; will probably visit Washington at that time; with the expectation that his presence there, may have favourable influence over the question of the ratification of the Treaty by the U S Senate.

Your remarks on this point, contained in your despatch No 86, discouraging any such expectation on the part of His Majesty, will be made known, should occasion call for it.

In case this government fails to secure a Reciprocity Treaty with the U States, it will then make strong efforts to secure one with Australia & British Columbia, where the products of these islands find a market, and are now admitted at rates of duties much less than those imposed by the U States—A line of steam vessels under the English flag, soon to be established to run between Australia & Honolulu, will greatly aid the purposes and objects suggested as in contemplation, on the part of the Hawaiian government, in the event aforementioned.

The question of Annexation of these islands to the territory of the U States, will probably remain at rest during the life of the reigning King; He and a majority of his people being opposed to that measure; and in which opposition they are supported by a majority of the British residents here. But all parties see that time

& the course of events, will solve the question referred to in favour of the U States.

Your instructions in regard to furnishing the State Department with full & accurate information in respect to the population, trade, industry resources & debt of the Hawaiian Islds; existing at present time, and as compared with former periods; will have my immediate attention, to make report. . . .

5. *Peirce to Fish (No. 206), May 26, 1873.*
(Hawaii, Despatches, Vol. XV)

Since receiving your despatch No 86, on the 27th ultimo; I have endeavoured as far as the limited time & opportunities afforded, to inform myself in regard to the disposition and opinions held by the King and the members of his cabinet, on the subject of the Annexation of these islands to the U. States.

From occasional conversations I have had with several of the Kings intimate friends, of his household & staff; I am assured that His Majesty entertains, at present, no thought or intention of proposing the cession of the sovereignty of the country to the U States or to any other power. And That such a measure would not in his opinion benefit himself, or promote the happiness of the native people.—With respect to the Ministry. Mr. Bishop, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, an American by birth, a Noble of the Kingdom & husband of the lady to whom the late King offered the Crown; is strongly opposed to any change like that alluded to He Being in favour of preserving the Countrys independence & its government as long as is possible. That annexation to U S might eventually take place—But should not be considered, until the few chiefs of royal blood now remaining, and the majority of the present native inhabitants, have ceased to live. Any large, sudden immigration of foreigners to this country, would bode no good to the Native race, in his opinion. Doubtless, Mr Bishop in thus expressing himself reflects the sentiments of Mrs B.; who has large landed estates; & numerous tenants & retainers; for whom she feels great sympathy, & care for their future.

Mr E. O. Hall, Minister of the Interior, an American by birth, & formerly one of the Missionary body here; Has for years past advocated the transfer of these islands to the U. S. But since taking high office under the King; duty impels him to keep silence on the subject—Should the King ever entertain the matter, favourably; Mr Hall will be a friend to it also.

Mr Stirling, a Scotchman, Minister of Finance ; it is said, strongly opposes the transfer of any portion of this territory to the U States, under any conditions whatever.

The Chancellor & Chief Justice, as well as the Attorney General, will be found supporters of the measures for the Annexation of the country to the U S, whenever the King shall propose to act on the question.

The members of the Privy Council of State, 25 persons in number; are supposed to be about equally divided on the question named. It may be confidently stated that a large majority of the American Missionaries, planters & merchants, are anxious for the consummation of the measure. As to its effect on the welfare of the native race; some think it will be deleterious; and cite the general treatment received by the Indians of our country; and by the Chinese in California & other places. Notwithstanding that the Constitution & laws of the U States spread the shield of their protection over them; yet in practice, the facts are not in favour of kind treatment of the Hawaiians, should the islands become American territory.

It must be admitted as a truth, that more than three fourths of the native inhabitants are, under existing circumstances loyal to their King & government; & opposed to a change of the sovereignty of the country—

From habit & inclination the Kings subjects, follow submissively the desires & wishes of their master; Hence should Lunalilo ever be brought to express himself in favour of cedeing his country to the U S; no obstacle to it will be presented by his people.

This government in view of the pressure upon it, brought by the press, the planters & merchants; will no doubt bend all its energies to effect a Treaty with the U S, based on Reciprocity and the Cession of Pearl Bay.

Failing to secure the Treaty, the disappointment & chagrin of those interested in the measure will be such as to force the Ministers to resign—Discontent thereafter will no doubt generally prevail in the community & go on increasing, until the death of the King, or some other important event shall happen; when the party in favour of Annexation to the U S will probably avail themselves of the occasion; and take an active part for the accomplishment of their desires—That this is no idle dream in regard to the future, the following facts may in part indicate.

In the interregnum that existed after the decease of the late King & before the accession of Lunalilo; Some few foreigners here,

conspired to take possession of the government; probably for the purpose of establishing a Republic & for other ulterior objects.

These persons were headed by one Walter M Gibson, who is well known to the State Department; in connection with a claim he held vs the Govt of the Netherlands.

The conspirators did not meet with the support they expected; and proceeded no farther in their object after ascertaining their own weakness.

In the event of Lunalilos death, there are many desperate persons here who will put in an appearance; in the troubles then likely to arise.

It is said, David Kalakaua, the competitor of the present King at the late election, is active in the formation of a party to place him upon the throne in the event named; even in case a Successor should be appointed by Lunalilo; Kalakaua's character, political principles and policy, are such as do not recommend him as a proper or safe ruler for the Kingdom.

In spite of his unpopularity with the natives & foreigners, he is desperate & reckless enough to make an attempt to secure the Crown for himself.

If so, the future promises to bring trouble to this nation.

In view of all existing circumstances, the absence of any present disposition on the part of this government to propose a transfer of the islands to the U S; or of a party sufficiently strong & influential to force that measure upon the King & his Ministers; I am of opinion that the only proper course for the U S to pursue is to await events—

In the mean time, it would seem to be the part of wisdom, for the U States to accept a cession of Pearl Bay with Reciprocity of Commerce between the two countries—This measure will bind these islands to the U S with hooks of steel.

Presenting these views with humility and submission

I am Sir,

With great respect.

Your Obt Servant.

Henry A. Peirce.

P.S. a newspaper in the native language, having for its object to instruct the Hawaiians in regard to the political affairs & status of

the country & designed to advocate closer relations with the U S, is soon to be established; & will have a powerful influence over the native mind—& enlighten them on subjects of which they are now ignorant. P.

6. *Peirce to Fish (No. 212), July 3, 1873.*
(Hawaii, Despatches, Vol. XV)

The note which the Minister of Foreign Affairs, intimated as his intention to address to the Legation, on the subject of a Treaty; & referred to in my despatch No 209; has not as yet been received.

The delay is probably caused by unexpected difficulties, presented by a few of the nobility, who are the principal proprietors of the lands at Pearl Bay, refusing to consent to transfer of sovereignty of same, in favour of the U States. English influence here, is active to defeat the project.

Nevertheless, it is asserted by the best informed persons, that a Treaty with the U States, to embrace Reciprocity & the Cession of Pearl Bay, would be approved by a large majority of the people outside of Honolulu; and its ratification secured in the Assembly by the votes of their representatives; whenever the question is presented for action thereon.

It is reported that Admiral Hillyar,¹ was asked for his opinion in regard to the Cession of Pearl Bay; and he advised against the measure. Enclosed herewith is extract from the P. C Advertiser June 21st on "Reciprocity". and another "Court News." And from Hawaiian Gazette of July 2d/73, article Headed "An incendiary political meeting" Address thereat by Hon. G. Rhodes, made on the 30th ultimo. "Right of Territorial Cession" and "A Forlorn Hope."

Mr Rhodes is English by birth; an Hawaiian subject, by naturalization; and a Roman Catholic in religion; It is to be expected from men possessing his characteristics, that opposition will be offered to measures in which the U States may be interested.

Judging from the political situation here, the weakness of the government & its want of unity, the conflicting national predudices existing among foreign residents; absence of any vigorous united action on the part of American citizens here; to impose on the government a certain policy in furtherence of their industrial & political interests; The depressed condition of Argriculture & Commerce and an impending bankruptcy among the planters & merchants, unless a favourable change occurs shortly; lead me to the opinion

¹ A British naval officer who had recently been at Honolulu.

that this nation is destined to pass through the throes of a new national birth; before it is prepared to adopt the proper measures to give security and prosperity to the people.

Reciprocity with the U States would undoubtedly give them partial relief and prosperity; That which is most needed however is increase of population and of capital; obtainable only from Annexation of the islands to the U States—and which will bring also numerous other valuable blessings in addition thereto.

This nation does not seem prepared to adopt the measures necessary for Annexation to the U States.

The death of the King, or a general bankruptcy of the people, will no doubt precipitate the event alluded to.

7. *Peirce to Fish (No. 213), July 7, 1873.*
(Hawaii, Despatches, Vol. XV)

Enclosed herewith, is copy of a note² of this date, received from Mr Bishop H H M Minister of Foreign Affairs; upon the subject of a proposed Reciprocity Treaty, between the U States and Hawaii; and cession of the Lagoon at Pearl Bay for an U S Naval station; with a limited extent of land therein, under such reservations, restrictions & conditions, as may be agreed on.

This proposition I hope will receive the favourable consideration of the U S Government; Inasmuch as I deem it necessary for the welfare and protection of our Pacific coast possessions, and our great & increasing Commerce between Asia & America, that the U States should avail of the present opportunity offered to obtain a proper & legitimate foothold on this island; with good surety hereafter of easily acquiring the whole archipelago.

Immediate or approximate Annexation of the Islds to the U S, by consent of the majority of the Chiefs & people here, seems at the present time to be out of the question.

² Bishop to Peirce, July 7, 1873, in which Mr. Bishop says: "I now have the honor to inform Your Excellency that I am authorized by my Sovereign to negotiate at Honolulu, with a duly authorized representative of your government, a Special Treaty of Reciprocity between the United States and the Hawaiian Kingdom, upon the basis of the Treaty negotiated and signed at San Francisco May 21st, 1867, subject of course, to some changes and modifications, the most important of which will be, to raise the grade of Sugar that would be admitted into the United States free of duty, from No. 12 to No. 16 Dutch Standard of color; and I am also authorized to include in the convention a cession, for the purposes of a Naval Station, of the Salt Water Lagoon (to high tide mark, and exclusive of enclosed fish ponds,) known as Pearl River, . . . together with such a limited extent of land in and upon said lagoon as may be agreed upon, under such reservations, restrictions and conditions as the interests of the contracting parties may seem to require; it being understood that the treaty will be subject to ratification by the King, and the approval of the Legislative Assembly of the Hawaiian Islands, according to the Constitution of the Kingdom."

That end probably, can only be reached, through revolution civil war, and destruction of the Agricultural & Commercial interests of the country; or after a lapse of 20 or 30 years, and by the depopulation of the native race; the country shall invite by its weakness, occupation by any power who may think proper to take it.

The district of Ewa, has recently been surveyed by Professor Alexander by order of the Hawaiian Govt. As soon as the maps are completed, I shall forward a copy, showing the boundaries which I think the U S should insist on in the cession of Pearl Bay; the water rights required to supply fresh water to the station, & other information of value.

Considering the opposition the Hawaiian Govt has met with while proposing the treaty alluded to; it would be judicious, in my opinion to act promptly in regard to the matter of accepting or rejecting the general proposition as now presented for your consideration.

8. *Peirce to Fish (No. 220), September 2, 1873.*
(Hawaii, Despatches, Vol. XV)

King Lunalilo has been ill for some days past, but is now recovering. . . . In the event of the Sovereigns decease; with or without having nominated his successor, it is feared that serious political troubles will arise here. The three principal candidates for the succession to the throne, are

1st. Mrs Bernice Pauahi Paki Bishop: wife to the present Minister of Foreign Affairs. By birth is the highest in rank of the chiefs living and will probably be nominated by the King as his successor. But whether to be confirmed by the House of Nobles or by the people, is problematical.

The next candidate by birth & popularity is, (Second) *David Kalakaua*; who is known to you by the part he took in the late election for choice of King. He is ambitious, flighty & unstable. Very energetic; but lacks prudence & good sense. Qualities that do not recommend him for selection as a Sovereign— He gives evidence of his determination to make himself such; whoever may be nominated by the King as his successor. It is a significant fact, and to some persons an alarming one, that David has employed himself lately in drilling a company of soldiers, composed of tennants & adherents; preparatory, it would seem, & in anticipation of events likely to occur ere long. The *Third* candidate spoken of is Queen Emma. Relict of the late Kamehameha 4th. She is a descendent of the Englishman

John Young, who was conspicuous in the Conquest of the Archipelago by Kamehameha 1st.

Her principal supporters for the succession, are the English residents; who will probably be aided by the influence of Queen Victoria of England with whom Queen Emma constantly corresponds. In the event of her becoming the future sovereign of these Islands, it is thought British political influence will predominate over them, and the English church declared the State religion as an institution. . . .

There are but seven nobles now remaining of the *House* of Nobles on the latter devolves the right of approving or rejecting the nominee selected by the King for his successor to the throne—It is said, that four of the present seven nobles are pledged in the interest of David Kalakaua. It is expected that Lunalilo will create a sufficient number of new nobles to ensure the confirmation of the person selected by him for the future sovereign of these Islands—No one believes he will choose Kalakaua as his successor.

9. *Peirce to Fish (No. 221), September 4, 1873.*
(Hawaii, Despatches, Vol. XV)

. . . In view of the critical position of affairs in this country, I cannot too strongly urge the U S Government, to obtain as soon as possible by means of a Treaty, and on the general terms proposed by this government; of a legal status & foot hold in the territory of this country.

Much influence is being exerted here, privately & openly, to prevent the consummation of that measure—chiefly by English residents.

10. *Peirce to Fish (No. 227), November 11, 1873.*
(Hawaii, Despatches, Vol. XV)

The health of King Lunalilo, continues in a precarious condition. He has had a slight relapse; & compelled to postpone his intended visit to Hawaii—His physician however does not think him dangerously ill. But the general belief, is, that His Majesty will never again enjoy good health.

The question as to the nomination of a Successor to the Crown, is not as yet determined. It is not improbable that Her Excellency Ruth Keliokalani, (chief of the Skies) will be nominated; she being the *only* chief living, possessing a quality that will be respected by the people. William Leleiohoku, (shooting star) is also supposed to be a candidate. He is a gentlemanly & well educated young man.

But objected to by many, as being a brother of Col David Kalakaua. The latter is thought to be a dangerous character and likely to rule in case Leleiohoku eventually becomes King. Coming events are casting their shadows before.

11. *Peirce to Fish (No. 229), November 24, 1873.*
(Hawaii, Despatches, Vol. XV)

The recent act, officially withdrawing the proposition for Cession of territory to the U States;³ has caused in the foreign community here, much chagrin and excitement; and brought upon the Hawaiian Ministry a storm of indignation. The members of the Cabinet sent in their resignations on the 14th inst, but at request of the King they continue to exercise their respective functions. It has been intimated to me by a gentleman of high official position in the government; that reasons of the most controlling nature, of higher importance than those adduced by Minister Bishop in his note to the Legation of date 14th inst, made it imperative with the King to withdraw the proposition for cession of territory and which reasons if made known would justify the act in the opinion of the U States. It is probable, in my judgement that a revolution was feared, had the measure alluded to been further pressed.

There are artful demagogues at work among the natives, who really desire the Annexation of the islands to the U States, but who absurdly aim to effect their object by creating ill feeling in the native mind against foreigners; and by stirring up strife and civil war, they hope that the U States may, for the cause of humanity and for the preservation and protection of American interests, find it advisable to take forcible possession of the country!

Twenty years ago, Annexation to the U States, was a popular measure with Chiefs & people, and would have been consummated in 1854 but for the refusal of the heir apparent to sign the procatal of a treaty which Kamehameha 3d & the highest chief had agreed

³ This is announced in a note of Mr. Bishop to Mr. Peirce, dated November 14, 1873, which reads in part as follows: "Wishing at all times to act with perfect frankness with you, and with the great nation and friendly government which you represent, it is my duty to state that, the expressed wishes of a large proportion of the business community, as well as their own views of the desirableness of the measure, induced His Majesty's Government to make the proposition contained in my note [of July 7]. Since the submission of that note, it has become evident that the general feeling in the country is so adverse to the measure, that even if the United States should acquiesce in it, a treaty on the basis of a cession of territory, would not be ratified by the next Legislative Assembly. Under these circumstances, it has pleased His Majesty the King, to direct me to withdraw that part of my note of 7th July, which relates to a cession of the Pearl River Lagoon and other territory to the United States, for a Naval Station."

to & signed,⁴ transferring these Islds to the sovereignty of the U S. At the present time, it must be confessed, the people are opposed to Annexation and will in the future be more firmly attached to their independence as a nation & that as it becomes smaller in numbers and weaker in power. Nothing but calamity & universal distress prevailing in the nation, will teach these people that their true interests lie with the U States as a component part of that nation. . . .

12. *Peirce to Fish (No. 231), December 18, 1873.*
(Hawaii, Despatches, Vol. XV)

The King has declined to nominate his successor; preferring it is said, that the selection of their future sovereign should devolve on his people; It is believed by the majority of the foreign residents, that under existing circumstances, Col David Kalakaua . . . will be elected Sovereign. If so, the event will be brought about by the exertions & strength of "Young Hawaiians" and the rowdy portion of the foreign population, and a reign of "Saturnalia" will from thence commence, & cause the sun of national prosperity to set in clouds & darkness. . . .

I shall with the approval of Admiral Pennock urge upon Comdr. Skerritt of the Portsmouth to remain in this port until further orders are received from the Navy Department.

I do not however apprehend that serious political difficulties will occur here in the event of Lunalilo's decease; unless Kalakaua fails of an election as successor to the throne.

13. *Peirce to Fish (No. 233), January 12, 1874.*
(Hawaii, Despatches, Vol. XVI)

Reports from Hawaii, received yesterday, state that the Kings health is declining; and that he will soon return to Honolulu.

There is nothing of interest to state in regard to political matters here. Public opinion seems to settle in the belief that David Kalakaua will be elected Sovereign to succeed Lunalilo, on decease of the latter.

If so, a civil war for the right of succession to the throne will be avoided. There is but little good material left in the nation to ensure hereafter a proper and respectable head to the government.

⁴ Mr. Peirce is in error on this point. King Kamehameha III did not sign the proposed annexation treaty of 1854.

Mr Wodehouse, British Commissioner & Consul General for these islands, returned on the 5th inst, after an absence of 17 months.

He informs me that his government desires the continued independence of the Hawaiian people; and that the course prescribed for his official action here, is non intervention in the domestic policy & affairs of the nation.

14. *Peirce to Fish (No. 236), January 26, 1874.*
(Hawaii, Despatches, Vol. XVI)

King Lunalilo returned to Honolulu from Hawaii on the 18th inst.— On landing he appeared greatly reduced in flesh & strength; he having recently suffered with an attack of hemorrhage of the lungs. Apprehensions were felt that he could not survive beyond a few days. Prayers for his recovery have been offered in all the churches; and daily bulletins given as to the state of his health.

The physicians report for today indicates that the King is better and out of immediate danger; but it gives no encouragement to hope for his recovery. No persuasions of the Cabinet Ministers or personal friends, have induced him to consent to nominate a Successor to the throne.

It is said he would have nominated Mrs Bishop, or Ruth Keliokalani, but both declined it—and then Queen Emma; but it was ascertained that only four votes of the House of Nobles were favourable to her election. He has firmly refused to nominate Col David Kalakaua, and will leave the choice of a sovereign to the Assembly; which under the Constitution & existing circumstances have the right to elect his successor; and that body it is supposed is largely in favour of David Kalakaua for their King. In the event of his election, it is hoped he may select for his Ministry, wise, honest & able councillors; and by their aid enable him to govern with benefit to the nation. A respectable & influential gentleman, born here of American parents; said to Col Kalakaua, a few days since; in substance; “In former speeches made by you in the Assembly, you asserted a desire to have existing laws repealed, which prohibit the sale to natives of intoxicating liquors, and for maintaining a proper observance of the Sabbath day; and that in case of your accession to the Throne you would place in government offices, none but native Hawaiians. Is it your intention to pursue the course indicated in the event named?”

The Colonel answered,—“No! It is my intention to preserve

existing laws intact; and the policy of my government, will be that heretofore persued by my predecessors."

The death of Lunalilo; and the interregnum, that may exist until a successor is elected to the throne; will be events causing much excitement; but no serious difficulty, leading to civil war, is likely to occur; unless the pretensions of Col Kalakaua are ignored, and some one else is chosen to occupy the throne— The latter, as a probability, is very remote.

15. *Peirce to Fish (No. 237), February 5, 1874.*
(Hawaii, Despatches, Vol. XVI)

The Sovereign of these Islands, King Lunalilo, died on the 3d inst at the age of 39 years; and after a reign of about 13 months. Yesterday, minute guns, 39 each; were fired by the U S Ships Tuscarora Capt Belknap; & Portsmouth, Capt Skerritt; also by H B. M Ship Tenedos; & by a native artillery company on shore.

The "Tuscarora" opportunely arrived here on the 2d inst, from St. Diego, Lower California; and the "Portsmouth" on the 3d inst from a surveying cruise.

The King having died without naming a successor to the throne; the Cabinet Ministers have ordered the Legislative Assembly to meet at Honolulu on the 12th February inst; to ballot for a new Sovereign.

It is generally believed that Col. David Kalakaua will be elected to that dignity. The English residents & a minority of the natives; have already commenced a political canvass, in favour of the election of Queen Emma to the throne; But her chances for success are very remote.

A mass meeting of the people was held yesterday afternoon, at which resolutions were offered; inviting and sanctioning the assumption by David Kalakaua of the office of Regent of the Kingdom, until the will of the Assembly could be ascertained in regard to a Ruler for the nation—

Kalakaua, by advice of friends who desired to preserve the peace, and avoid unconstitutional measures; caused a letter from him to be read to the meeting, discountenancing the propositions above alluded to, and expressing his desire, in the exigency of affairs to be governed by the provisions of the Constitution and the laws.

The resolutions were consequently voted down by a large majority; and the meeting adjourned sine die in spite of efforts that were

made to keep the excitement up, by adjourning to another day as proposed.

The people, though somewhat excited, are quiet & orderly—; and will probably remain so;

Great grief is exhibited by the Hawaiians for the death of their beloved Sovereign—His body, lying in state, was visited yesterday, by a vast number of people—

The political future of the Kingdom, has to me an unpromising aspect for good; The natives are incapable of ruling or legislating intelligently for the good of the country without receiving assistance from those of foreign birth & education. Nevertheless, in the election for members of the Assembly that took place a few days ago; few or no foreigners were elected; Natives only were chosen as far as heard from. This is another proof of the ill feeling towards foreigners which exists in the minds of the people; Planted and cultivated by demagogues, under a pretence of being the true friends of Hawaii!

16. *Peirce to Fish (No. 250), March 3, 1874.*
(Hawaii, Despatches, Vol. XVI)

I have the honor to enclose herewith, copy of a Memorial of date 26th ulto, addressed to the Legation; signed by eighty (80) resident citizens of the U States; comprising all the business firms, influential individuals & Ministers of the Gospel at Honolulu of that nationality. And Wherein a statement is presented of the views they entertain, concerning the recent events that occurred here;⁵ and the significance they possess, as affecting present & future relations of the U States and the Hawaiian Islands "And they hope that the Legation will urge upon the U S government, the duty of maintaining a permanent Naval force at these islands. For the protection of the lives & property of Resident Citizens of the U. States; and inasmuch, as Americans have given these islands a Christian civilization, it is the duty of the U S government, in all fit ways to maintain & defend the peace & order such a civilization requires. And as the Hawaiian Group is near neighbour to our Pacific States, it is desirable that American interests here, should be unceasingly and abundantly protected."

Similar petitions have been sent to the other islands of the group, for signature.

⁵The reference is to the election of David Kalakaua as King and the riot which followed that election, described in Mr. Peirce's despatch No. 243, of Feb. 17, 1874.

This is a nation apparently dying by slow degrees,—and it must reach the end of its autonomy before many years have elapsed—

The increasing cosmopolitan character of the government, and the national jealousies engendered thereby; are full of significance, & dangerous to the continued peace of the country.

Had the recent riot occurred in the absence of any vessel of war, it would not probably have stopped short of the destruction of many foreigners, & a large amount of property belonging to them. . . .

I cannot too strongly commend to the favourable consideration and action of the U S governments, the prayer of the signers of the Memorial.

An U States vessel under a system of reliefs, should hereafter be placed in these waters; with orders not to leave them, until another war vessel comes to take her place.

17. *Peirce to Fish (No. 259), April 23, 1874.*
(Hawaii, Despatches, Vol. XVI)

On the day preceeding the departure from this port, for British Columbia (26th March), of H B M Ship Tenedos; Her Commander Capt Ray, made a friendly call at the Legation; and during the conversation held on the occasion, he remarked; That the fact of an armed force having been landed from the "Tenedos", to assist in suppressing the riot here of the 12th February, caused him to feel regret.

The act took place, while he was temporarily absent from his vessel, & without orders given by himself; & it was in opposition to his own view of its propriety, the tenor of instructions received by him from Admiral Cochrane; and contrary to the political views entertained by the British Government towards this country.

He has received knowledge of the latter, from perusal of telegrams, addressed by the British Foreign Office, to the Senior Naval Officer at Victoria, Vancouvers Island; on the occasion of the death of Kamehameha 5th. Said telegrams enjoined British Naval officers against interference or intervention in the political affairs of these islands, and to confine themselves to giving their protection & assistance to British subjects here, found under circumstances imperilling their personal safety.

For these considerations, he felt prompted at the moment of the landing of the "Tenedos" force, to order their immediate return to the Ship—but did not do so; for the reason that the act would have

compelled the arrest of his executive officer, and his trial by Court Marshall, for an offence prompted by Mr Wodehouse the English Commissioner.

I remarked to Capt Ray, that I was sure of the fact, that no request to land a British force had been made by the Hawaiian Authorities; Though made to appear otherwise, by an ante-dated & published letter from Mr Bishop to Mr Wodehouse, dated Feby 12th/74; & written at the latters request, an act concocted several days subsequently to the said landing. Whereas, the forces of the U States were sent on shore in compliance with the requests made to me by the King elect, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Governor of the island in person respectively. And inasmuch as they (U S forces) were first to arrive at the place of the riot; & in strength sufficient to restore order; The subsequent landing of the "Tenedos" force, was in my opinion, an act unnecessary and dangerous to the continuance of the good feeling existing between the U States and Great Britain, had the respective forces on shore here come into collision, from partisan or other feeling. Capt Ray fully concurred in the force and truth of my remarks.

It is reported that Queen Emma, in a private letter to the Queen of England, has complained against the act of an armed force from the "Tenedos" for having invaded the grounds of her private residence & for arresting some of her people.

From what I have recently learned from authentic sources, in relation to the instructions given, since January 1873; by the French and English governments to their respective Commissioners here & to Naval officers visiting these islands; I am led to believe that neither of these Powers have any disposition to oppose or obstruct the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States; whenever that measure is proposed & consented to by the two latter nations.

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18. *Peirce to Fish (No. 260), April 28, 1874.*
(Hawaii, Despatches, Vol. XVI)

His Majesty King Kalakaua, recently returned from a tour made to all the islands and principal places, composing his dominions. His reception by the people every where, was enthusiastic & loyal. An account of the tour is herewith enclosed; extracted from the Pacific Coml Advertiser of April 18th/74. It contains his speech made to the people of Lahaina and is Interesting as being a declaration of the policy to be persued by his government. It also acknowl-

edges the fact of the decaying condition of the nation; and his desire to arrest if possible, the causes of it; by endeavouring to increase the number of his people; and by fostering argriculture & commerce; and secure thereby the stability of the government and the permanent independence of the Kingdom. . . .

The political condition of affairs here presents a peaceful aspect.—The Kings tact, shown in the late free intercourse with his subjects; and the firmness displayed by the government, in bringing to trial & conviction, the persons charged as parties to the riot of 12th Feby last; have produced most beneficial effects.





